THE COURT CALLS FOR LOCAL LEADERSHIP

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THE SOUTH'S OPPORTUNITY
Marion Wright

MAP OF FEDERAL DISTRICTS

POSITIVE REACTION GROWS

THE URBAN SOUTH

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New South

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New South NOTES

The two main articles in the May issue of *New South* attracted a gratifying amount of attention, some of it in the nature of friendly correction. We are happy to devote this space to our correcting correspondents, since in each case they transmit welcome rather than unwelcome intelligence.

"Democracy on the Diamond" by John Constable brought two interesting letters from baseball officials who figured in the integration story. Earl Mann, president of the Atlanta Crackers, disputes a statement based on newspaper reports. "I enjoyed your story," he writes, "but there is one fallacy I want to correct. No one in the Southern Association, or anywhere else for that matter, tried to use any pressure on me for our Club not to play Nat Peeples . . . There was but one answer as to why Nat Peeples didn't stay with the Crackers and that was he lacked the ability."

George M. Trautman, president of the National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues, also takes issue with a newspaper source. He writes, "I at no time told (Pine Bluff Manager Wooley) or anybody else that any rule restricting Negro players was a league decision which would not be overruled. On the contrary, I notified Mr. Wooley that no league could adopt a rule, or take any action, which would have the effect of excluding Negro players." Good news, indeed.

Miss Roberta Morgan, director of the Jefferson County (Ala.) Coordinating Council of Social Forces, writes to point out that Birmingham's Planning Council was erroneously shown to have no Negro representative. She declares that the Planning Council has had a Negro member for more than a year and that Negroes have also served on the Citizens Survey Committee and the Interracial Committee of Birmingham.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

The Court Calls for Local Leadership

On May 31, the Supreme Court gave the long-awaited word on how its school segregation decision of last year is to be put into effect. The ruling (carried in full in this issue) is brief. But it is not the arbitrary order that some hoped and others feared it would be. To those who were looking for a stern command that would apply, immediately and simultaneously, everywhere in the South, the decision was a disappointment. To those who expected the Court to retreat from the principle of desegregation, it was equally disappointing. The Court held firm to the principle, but it instructed federal district courts to see that the principle is put into practice in the community.

The decision drew conflicting claims of "victory" from both pro- and anti-integrationists. In this partisan sense, however, there was no victory. Rather, there was recognition that the South is a region of great variety, that every community has its particular problems and its particular resources for meeting them. In essence the decision was a call for leadership in every school district affected.

In the April arguments before the Supreme Court, Florida's Attorney General Richard Ervin said: "We want an opportunity to show this court that we can by local action, not by taking a vote but by people working with the school administrators, the PTA, interracial committees, talking this problem out, arrange some time of desegregation in the school districts. We want to show the Court that it can be done."

This is precisely the opportunity that the Court has afforded. But there is little comfort in store for those who hailed the decision as a "blank check" or an "indefinite extension" for segregation. Here, point by point, is why:

The district courts are instructed to require "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance." School authorities have the responsibility of assessing their "varied local school problems" and developing a plan to solve them. However, the federal courts are responsible for determining that the actions of school authorities constitute "good faith implementation" of desegregation.

Any delay must be justified by school authorities as necessary and "consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date." Moreover, additional time may be granted by the lower court only after "a prompt and reasonable start" has been made.

Prejudice and attitudes of resistance, as such, are not grounds for delay. The district courts are permitted to exercise "practical flexibility" in shaping the remedies and "reconciling public and private needs." But the problems that they may take into account are specified by the Supreme Court as tangible obstacles "related to administration" — physical condition of school plants, outmoded school districting, laws and regulations that must be revised, and the like. "But," adds the Supreme Court, "it goes without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."

Federal district judges can be expected to require compliance in good faith. Some Southern political spokesmen have made much of the fact that the district judges are native Southerners, supposedly in sympathy with segregation. The implication is that the judges will sanction indefinite delay or downright evasion of the ruling. This dim view of the judiciary is unwarranted by past evidence. Federal judges are under the authority of the Supreme Court, and their official actions are subject to review by the high tribunal. In recent years, Southerners on the federal bench have enforced Supreme Court decisions ordering Negroes enrolled as voters, admitted to Southern universities, impaneled on juries, seated unsegregated on interstate buses and trains. As Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, observed: "They (federal judges) are sworn to the Constitution. They will resign rather than violate their oath. They are, by the Court's wisdom, granted great powers of discretion because they are presumed to know the variety and complexity of local conditions. But no citizen should condemn or insult the integrity of these judges by assuming the jurists deliberately will follow a laissez faire course."

Early cases will define the limits of time that may "reasonably" be allowed to solve desegregation problems. In every school case that comes before a district court, both sides have the right of appeal to the Supreme Court. Some of the initial decrees are bound to be appealed by the plaintiffs or the defendants, as being too lenient or too harsh. The Supreme Court's review of these appeals will further define and narrow the limits of the district courts' discretion.

The first application of the decision in the South will not be a test of compliance, but a test of defiance. The Supreme Court's May 31st ruling applied directly to only five communities. Three of these — Wilmington, Del., Topeka, Kan., and the District of Columbia — have already proceeded with school integration. The two remaining school districts are in Clarendon County, S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va. Both of these are characteristic "black belt" counties — predominantly rural and agricultural, with heavy Negro populations of 71 and 45 per cent, respectively. School authorities in both have already announced that they will close their schools rather than integrate them. Thus the constructive local process provided for by the Supreme Court apparently will have no chance to work there. Instead, there will probably be further litigation testing the constitutionality of "private-school" or "no-school" plans of the sort advanced by former Governors Talmadge and Byrnes. The final disposition of these two cases may foretell the fate of the "private school" legislation enacted by Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi.

In many Southern areas, communities will begin to comply voluntarily, without need for lawsuits. As the summary of reactions presented in this issue indicates, state and community leaders in some parts of the South have already expressed their intent to abide by the new law of the land. In general, the areas most likely to adjust voluntarily are those in which Negroes have a significant voice in local government, those with small Negro populations, and the rapidly growing industrial cities of the region. The local will-to-comply will no doubt be heavily influenced by official state attitudes. State

(*Continued on Page* 12)

TEXT OF SUPREME COURT'S RULING

THESE cases were decided on May 17, 1954. The opinions of that date (footnote 1), declaring the fundamental principle that racial discrimination in public education is unconstitutional, are incorporated herein by reference. All provisions of federal, state, or local law requiring or permitting such discrimination must yield to this principle. There remains for consideration the manner in which relief is to be accorded.

BECAUSE THESE CASES arose under different local conditions and their disposition will involve a variety of local problems, we requested further argument on the question of relief (footnote 2.) In view of the nationwide importance of the decision, we invited the attorney general of the United States and the attorneys general of all states requiring or permitting racial discrimination in public education to present their views on that question. The parties, the United States, and the states of Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Maryland, and Texas filed briefs and participated in the oral arguments.

These presentations were informative and helpful to the court in its consideration of the complexities arising from the transition to a system of public education freed of racial discrimination. The presentations also demonstrated that substantial steps to eliminate racial discrimination in public schools already have been taken, not only in some of the communities in which these cases arose, but in some of the states appearing as amici curiae (friends of the court), and in other states as well. Substantial progress has been made in the District of Columbia and in the communities in Kansas and Delaware involved in this litigation. The defendants in the cases coming to us from South Carolina and Virginia are awaiting the decision of this court concerning relief.

FULL IMPLEMENTATION of these constitutional principles may require solution of varied local school problems. School authorities have the primary responsibility of elucidating, assessing, and solving these problems; courts will have to consider whether the action of school authorities constitutes good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles. Because of their proximity to local conditions and the possible need for further hearings, the courts which originally heard these cases can best perform this judicial appraisal. Accordingly, we believe it appropriate to remand the cases to those courts (footnote 3).

In fashioning and effectuating the decrees, the courts will be guided by equitable principles. Traditionally, equity has been characterized by a practical flexibility in shaping its remedies (4) and by facility for adjusting and reconciling public and private needs. (5) These cases call for the exercise of these traditional attributes of equity power.

At stake is the personal interest of the plaintiffs in admission to public schools as soon as practicable on a non-discriminatory basis. To effectuate this interest may call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operate in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision. Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be al-

lowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them.

WHILE GIVING WEIGHT to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date. To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a non-racial basis, and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems. They will also consider the adequacy of any plans the defendants may propose to meet the problems and to effectuate a transition to a racially non-discriminatory school system. During this period of transition, the courts will retain jurisdiction of these cases.

The judgments below, except that in the Delaware case, are accordingly reversed and remanded to the district courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this opinion as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases. The judgment in the Delaware case — ordering the immediate admission of the plaintiffs to schools previously attended only by white children — is affirmed on the basis of the principles stated in our May 17, 1954, opinion, but the case is remanded to the Supreme Court of Delaware for such further proceedings as that court may deem necessary in light of this opinion.

It is so ordered.

FOOTNOTES

(1) 347 U.S. 483; 347 U.S. 497.

(2) Further argument was requested on the following questions, 347 U.S. 483, 495-496, N. 13, previously propounded by the court:

"4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment,

"(A) Would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should forthwith be admitted to schools of their choice, or

"(B) May this court, in the exercise of its equity powers, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?

"5. On the assumption on which questions 4 (A) and (B) are based, and assuming further that this court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4 (B),

"(A) Should this court formulate detailed decrees in these cases;

"(B) If so, what specific issues should the decrees reach;

"(C) Should this court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees;

"(D) Should this court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in these cases, and if so, what general directions should the decrees of this court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees?"

(3) The cases coming to us from Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia were originally heard by three-judge district courts convened under 28 U.S.C. Sections 2281 and 2284. These cases will accordingly be remanded to those three-judge courts. See Briggs v. Elliott, 342 U.S. 350.

(4) See Alexander v. Hillman, 296 U.S., 222, 239.

(5) See Hecht Co. v. Bowles, 321 U.S. 321, 329-330.

OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SOUTH

By MARION A. WRIGHT

President of the Southern Regional Council

THE Supreme Court's implementation decrees in the school segregation cases are wise, moderate, and workable. Generous allowance has been made for the wide variety of conditions found in Southern communities; opportunity has been provided for every community to work out plans and preparations for orderly compliance.

The choices now to be made by the Southern states are too important to our region, the nation, and the world to be left solely to the judgment of political leaders. It is the obligation of every citizen to study the decrees carefully, to explore their practical implications, and to make his independent judgment known to those in authority.

If thoughtful Southerners adopt this course, we can make the required transition in a way that will command the respect of the civilized world. For we Southerners, no less than other Americans, recognize our duty as citizens to abide by the law of the land. Under our system of government, the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of the law. There is no honorable alternative to observing the law, so defined, in letter and in spirit.

Compliance with this ruling is not, however, merely a moral obligation. If we choose to make it so, it can be a great opportunity to enrich and benefit Southern life. By working together, white and Negro, for orderly transition to integrated schools, we can demonstrate the vigor of the democratic process to our own countrymen and to doubting millions throughout the world. We can realize, at home, resources of skill and public service in the Negro segment of our population that have had little chance for expression in the past.

Those who claim that our prejudices as a people are too strong to permit such changes, are blind to the great strides already made. There are literally hundreds of examples, drawn from every Southern state, of voluntary desegregation. Church schools and colleges, as well as other private institutions of learning, have opened their doors to students of both races. Professional associations have extended unqualified membership to Negro doctors, lawyers, nurses, ministers, social workers, and other professionals. Many private organizations and agencies have taken the same step in the interest of their own operations.

These and a host of other changes have not been imposed upon the South; they have been made by the free choice of Southerners who recognized that they were in the public interest. They represent the growing conviction in the South that we will have a stronger, healthier, more productive society if we admit every citizen to unqualified participation in public life. We must now bring this growing insight to bear on the field of public education. The only real obstacles are our own fears and uncertainties. Once these obstacles are overcome, white and Negro Southerners working in full partnership are more than equal to the task.

FEDERAL JUDICIAL DISTRICTS I

Source: US Code Annotated, T

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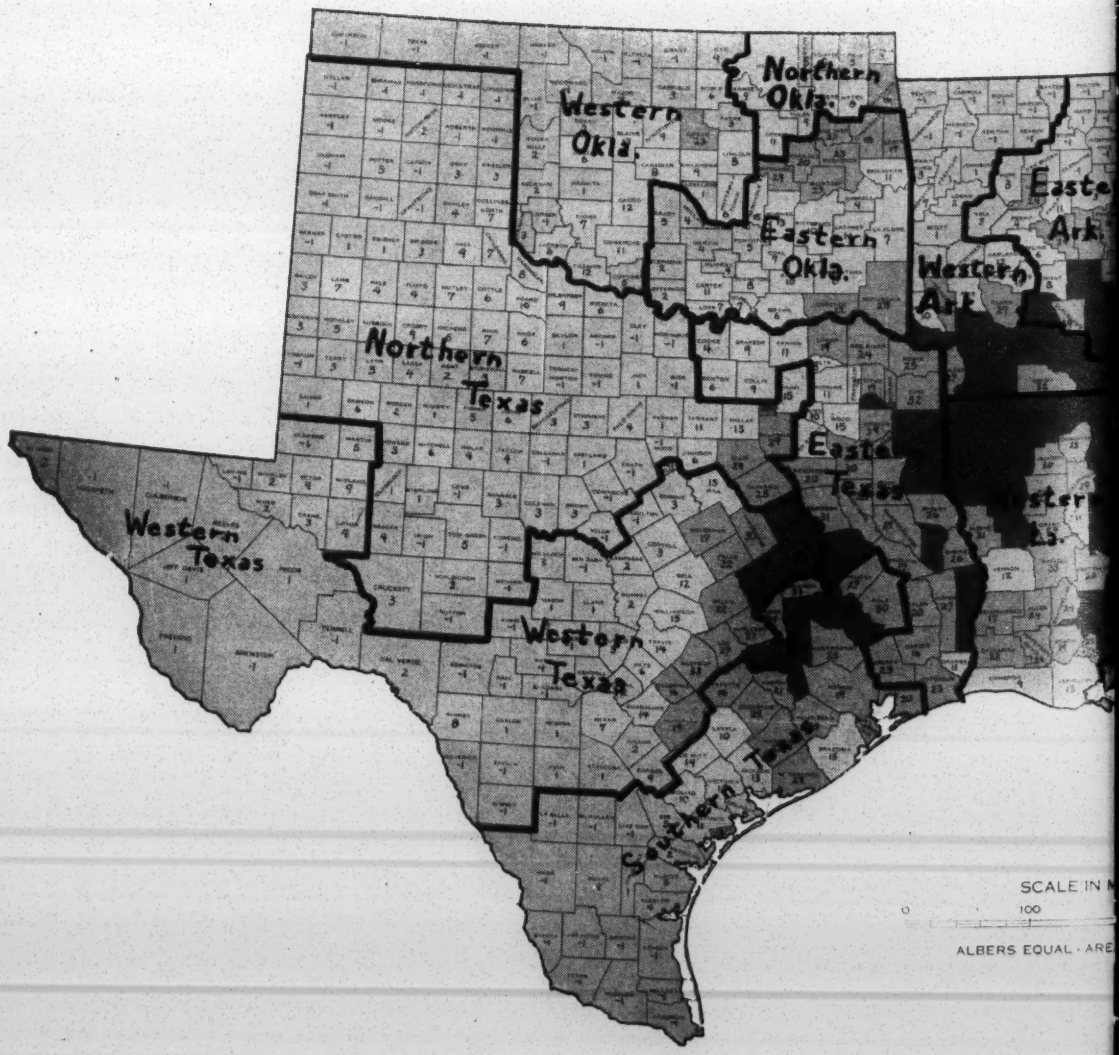

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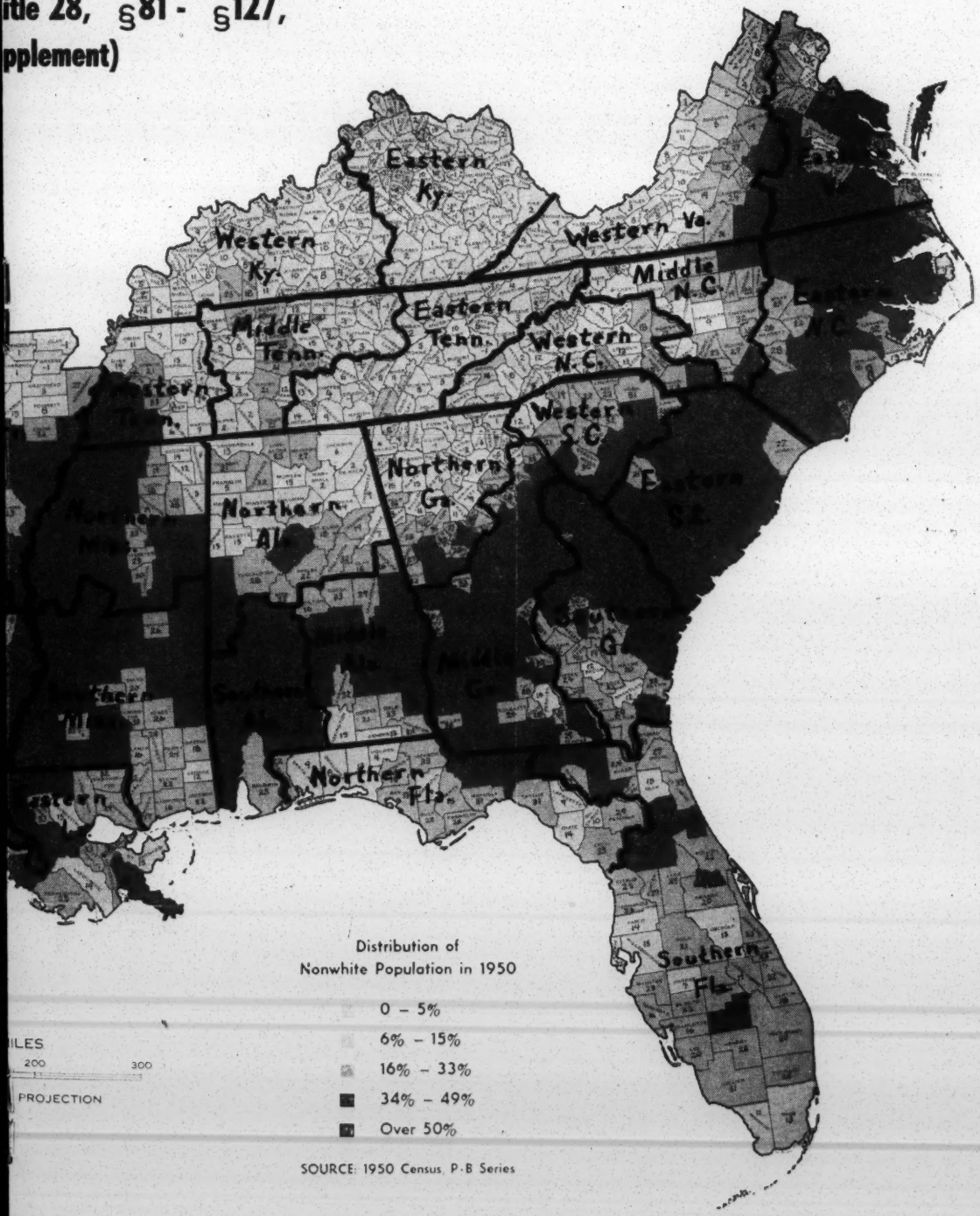

Positive Reaction Grows in the South

IN THE days following the Supreme Court's May 31 ruling on school desegregation, a scattering but growing list of communities began "a prompt and reasonable start" toward compliance.

Although a few Southern leaders still cried defiance at the Court, constructive programs emerged in several Southern and border states. The decrees, aside from instigating desegregation programs in secondary schools, also apparently speeded up the integration processes in state-supported colleges and universities.

Superintendent of Schools Thomas B. Portwood has announced that segregation probably will be abolished in San Antonio schools this September, making San Antonio the first city in the deep South to voluntarily permit Negroes and whites to attend school together.

In Oklahoma, all 18 state-supported universities and colleges have been ordered to open their enrollment to Negro undergraduates by September; and the city of Poteau became the first public school system in the state to end classroom segregation. Poteau's Superintendent of Schools, E. L. Costner, said the city's three white grade schools and one separate school for Negroes will be open to both races this fall. Truman Bennett, assistant state superintendent of public instruction, predicted that the action in Poteau would snowball.

In Kentucky, after Governor Lawrence Wetherby reiterated the state's intention of "obeying the law," a Negro girl was registered for the summer session of a previously all-white school. Kentucky's first instance of public school desegregation came less than a week after the decrees. The Negro girl was admitted to the Lafayette (County) High School in Lexington, Ky. She previously had been a student at Douglass High School, Fayette County's Negro school. It was emphasized, however, that the action in Fayette County does not necessarily mean that the county schools will be desegregated in the regular session this fall. The county superintendent of schools said that an advisory committee which is considering all aspects of the desegregation issue has not yet recommended a plan. In Louisville, county and city officials announced that they have no plans for desegregation earlier than September, 1956. The City superintendent has promised to present a definite plan to his board by November, 1955.

"We shall make an honest effort . . . "

A Statement by the Asheville (N. C.) Board of Education

The Supreme Court has said in effect that racial segregation in the public schools must end as soon as practical, and it has put the responsibility of finding ways and means squarely upon the local school boards.

We shall make an honest effort to comply with the court's order.

In the same court ruling providing for integration we are given ample time to proceed calmly and carefully and we shall do so with honesty of purpose in every move we make. It will not only take time but patience on the part of all concerned. There are many factors involved in the transition and they must be given consideration as we carefully feel our way along a course new to all of us.

We expect, and are confident we will have, full cooperation from both white and colored people as we endeavor to work out the many problems that will face us as we move with measured step in the direction of ultimate compliance with the supreme law of the land. There must be goodwill and understanding at all times, even if the progress may seem slow to some and fast to others.

We look at our local governments, our churches and other institutions, and to our civic groups, and to all organizations that daily touch the lives of the people of this community to encourage and develop among them the good will and understanding necessary to attain the goal set for us. While the Supreme Court looks to the school board for compliance, the responsibility for an equitable and orderly solution really rests upon all of us.

We are mindful that this board derives its authority from the community it serves, and we are subject to the laws enacted by the State of North Carolina. It is our desire to serve our community and State consistent with our concepts of justice and right, and within the framework of the supreme law of the land.

Two of the larger North Carolina cities also moved quickly toward the development of school desegregation plans. In Asheville, the school board laid down a policy of "honest effort" to meet the Court ruling and announced it would move "with measured step in the direction of ultimate compliance with the supreme law of the land." The board wisely added that it expected full cooperation from "both white and colored people as we endeavor to work out the many problems that will face us. . . ."

In Charlotte, the city school board reiterated its statement of a year ago expressing its desire to comply with the law and authorized the appointment of a study committee to investigate immediately methods of carrying out the Court's edict. The board also ordered the administrative staff to collect information regarding integration plans elsewhere and to assemble official records on the act of the 1955 State Legislature increasing the authority of local school boards.

In Texas, the Houston Biracial Advisory School Committee was organized to study the problem of desegregation. The committee's announced purpose is

"to work out the earliest solution to the best of our ability." Seventeen of the 20 Negro and white citizens appointed to the board were present at the initial meeting. The group plans to raise the membership to 25 (10 Negro and 15 white).

Maryland

In Maryland, the Carroll County School Board voted to end segregation in school athletics beginning in September; and schools in Montgomery and Frederick counties will open on an integrated basis in September. Other Maryland county School boards have appointed interracial citizens committees to study desegregation. These include Worcester, Talbot, Prince Georges, and Calvert.

On the college level, the Tennessee State Board of Education approved a program of gradual desegregation in the state's colleges beginning with the graduate schools next fall. The state board said, in effect, that it is willing to begin desegregation if the federal district court will rule that Tennessee's segregation laws are invalid. In San Antonio, Texas, integration was a two-way process on two college campuses. The San Antonio College, previously all-white, and St. Phillips, formerly operated exclusively for Negroes, revealed that each institution has received and accepted applications for admission of students of the opposite race.

Other officials gave hope that integration of the schools may be accomplished in a spirit of cooperation. In Florida, Thomas D. Bailey, state superintendent, advised local school boards to name biracial committees to study integration; and the school board of Davidson County, Tennessee, directed its chairman and superintendent to work out desegregation plans with a biracial committee.

Positive reaction to the decrees by school leaders follows closely the position taken by John L. Lewis, chairman of the school board in Williamsburg, Virginia, who said the board favors trying to develop a plan to solve the segregation issue rather than setting up means to avoid the Supreme Court's decision. With this type of leadership and cooperation between Negro and white citizens, the process of integration in our schools should proceed quickly and efficiently.

School officials who take positive stands on the decrees do not stand alone. They are backed by an ever-growing group of citizens who view the decrees as a means to a more American way of life. Within a week after the Supreme Court decrees, the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (Southern) reaffirmed a 1954 pronouncement calling upon its 3,776 local churches to open their membership rolls to all individuals regardless of race. The vote this year was 293–109 as compared to 236–169 last year. Previously, the 167th general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. had approved a churchwide campaign to be known as "Operation Desegregation." The campaign will endeavor to put into practice past pronouncements of the church deploring racial discrimination.

Student Support

Additional support for the decrees came from a meeting of 375 college students from nine Southeastern states at the Methodist Assembly Center, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. The group unanimously adopted a resolution pledging support to the Supreme Court's ruling against segregation in public schools and calling for an end to rules barring Negroes from swimming at the center.

The South Moves to Town

THE changes that have taken place in the South during the last fifteen years are so far-reaching that we are only beginning to grasp their meaning. *The Urban South* is an important book because it brings into one compass the tremendous forces that are reshaping the region from its foundations.

The seventeen contributors to this symposium deal with the physical growth of the cities, the tide of farm-to-city migration, and the effects of the burgeoning metropolises on social class, politics, crime, employment, community planning, and race relations in the South. Here, too, by implication, is much of the story of the South's spectacular advance in industry and commerce — both a cause and an effect of the march to the cities.

The physical dimensions of urbanization are suggested by the fact that between 1940 and 1950 the rural-farm areas of the South lost over four million people. Many of them, particularly Negroes, left the region. The rest settled in or near Southern cities. Moreover, the growth of industry in the South has attracted a substantial number of city-dwellers from other parts of the country. As a result, the South's population is now almost exactly one-half urban and one-half rural, with only a fourth of the total population classed as rural-farm.

Clearly, then, the South is no longer the predominantly rural, agricultural region it used to be. It is drawing closer to the rest of the nation both in its economic life and in its social organization. Yet, as the editors point out, this transition is not without difficulties. Most of the emergent problems may be summed up, as they put it, in "the breakdown of the traditional way of life and the failure as yet to develop, for numerous Southerners, a rewarding and socially acceptable substitute."

THE URBAN SOUTH, Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, editors. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, $5.00.

Race relations are a case in point. As more and more Southerners, white and Negro, become city-dwellers, the old rigid patterns of race relations collapse under the pressure of urban life. The caste system, easily enforced in village and farming community, yields to the impersonal and levelling influence of the large city. To the newcomer, city life may seem cold and anonymous, but by the same token, there the individual finds it easier to break with tradition and to act on "liberal" beliefs. Thus the Negro finds it possible to improve his lot, "to develop new patterns of personality and behavior in place of the economic and personal dependency characteristic of an earlier day."

On the other hand, urbanization has worked against segregation more in a legal than in a practical sense. Urban housing patterns, with few exceptions, continue to be segregated; and this, together with the organization of public

services and facilities on neighborhood lines, makes for more rather than less separation of the races. As *The Urban South* also points out, the Negro has not shared proportionately in the job opportunities of the expanding industrial cities, thus further limiting his rise in status.

Despite these and other negative aspects of urbanization, one would hardly wish to turn backward, even if that were possible. Indeed, many of the new problems of the region are made more acute by Southern leadership that looks wistfully back to the agrarian past, and clings fiercely to the worst values of that failing culture. This is markedly evident in political arrangements. Under existing methods of apportionment, state legislatures are dominated by the rural counties, while the growing urbar areas are premitted only a feeble voice in state affairs.

Partly because of this "wool hat" philosophy of government, the South's picture of itself lags years behind the great changes effected by urbanization, industrialization, modern transportation, and the rest. Symptomatic, again, is the popular notion that Negroes make up as much as 50 per cent of the region's population and are increasing more rapidly than whites. In actuality, Negroes make up less than 25 per cent of the South's total population; and between 1940 and 1950 the white increase was 33 times as great as the Negro increase!

In short, the South, at mid-century, is astonishingly different from the South of twenty, or even ten, years ago. As Southerners, we now face the difficult task of achieving a new, more realistic image of ourselves and our region. *The Urban South* is a scholarly contribution to that effort.

Call for Local Leadership

(*Contined from Page* 2)

governments of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana have adopted measures that would penalize or discourage communities that put desegregation into effect. The other Southern states have not attempted legally to impose statewide uniformity, and several have indicated that they will cooperate with local authorities who choose to move ahead.

Desegregation will spread by example. As demonstrations of successful desegregation mount in number, more and more communities will be encouraged to follow suit. Many people who now protest that school integration "can't work here" will come to feel differently when they see it working across a state or county line. The "solid South" is no longer solid, and politicians who trade in racial fears and prejudices will find it increasingly hard to hold a following.

The effects of the school decision will carry over to other fields. Many religious denominations and other private institutions, although outside the authority of the courts, will be challenged to modify their racial practices. Some Catholic authorities, for example, had previously indicated that they would await the implementation ruling before moving ahead with parochial school desegregation. As school integration progresses, private groups concerned with education may logically be expected to lower racial barriers. The trend towards integration in public libraries, meeting facilities, professional associations, and other public and private activities should continue at an accelerated rate during the next few years.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"Two-thirds of the world's population belong to non-white races . . . the overwhelming number of the people as yet uncommitted either to democracy or Communism are colored people. In other words, these colored people constitute the balance of power in the current struggle for survival. From simple arithmetic we can deduce the necessity, then, of winning the majority of these people with their human and material resources. And from simple psychology we can conclude that we do not gain friends and influence people by thinking and acting as though they and their kind were inferior to us." . . . The Rev. Louis J. Twomey, S. J., Director, Institute of Industrial Relations; Regent of the School of Law, Loyola University.

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"In short, to ask, 'Can morality be legislated?' is actually to pose the wrong question. What types of morality, under what conditions, and with what techniques for enforcement are qualitative considerations which fragment the question into more answerable units. Our analysis suggests that, although large-scale local considerations may call for special circumstances of implementation, the majesty of the law, when supported by the collective conscience of a people and the healing power of the social situation, in the long run will not only enforce morality but create it." — John P. Roche and Milton M. Gordon in the *New York Times Magazine*.

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"The (Charlotte) School Board is now embarked on its difficult duty of charting racial integration in the public school system. The board has authorized a study committee to compile and evaluate all information related to integration and the massive problems it entails. This committee is to be a working unit, not a pigeon hole. It will have the tools it needs to do the job. The board clearly has measured up to its responsibility to the community and to the law. It has faced the problem and in the facing avoided needless and destructive arguments and antagonisms delay inevitably would have brought." — From an editorial in the Charlotte (N. C.) *News*.

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"It seems to me that the general reaction to the (Mississippi) legislature's blast, and the failure so far of any boycott, points up something that our non-Southern friends possibly don't know. The thinking people of Mississippi and the South are a long way ahead of their politicians; and those of us who seem to be in a completely rebuffed minority aren't as alone or out of step as legislators and Councils might lead the outsider to believe." — Hodding Carter in *Look* Magazine.

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"A small Negro girl who lived on my farm and was about ready for high school was not a bit pleased by the possibility that she might have to go to classes with white children. 'I don't know how that would work,' she said to me. 'I would be a little afraid about how I should act.' The advice I gave her was to try to be kinder and more considerate than anybody else. I have no better suggestion to make to anybody of any race as we move forward towards necessary adjustments."—Capus M. Waynick, director of the North Carolina Small Industries Plan and former U. S. ambassador to Nicaragua.

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"In order to meet the requirements of the court it is essential that every county and community work out a public school program which is fair to all school children and is approved and accepted by the pupils and patrons of both races. To perfect such a program it is necessary to make a start, and the sooner that start is made by local boards the less possibility there will be that their plans may be wrecked by a court action forcing the schools to take hasty, precipitate action."—From an editorial in the *Twin City* (Winston-Salem, N. C.) *Sentinel*.

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